

The British Woman and the Labor Problem

The Paid Work of Her Hands Will Bring a New Prosperity

THIS article proposes to present the industrial and economic issues which will be fought out in the forthcoming general election in Great Britain between the pacifist and Bolshevik forces arrayed against Lloyd George's win-the-war policy and those who are determined to win the war and to maintain their integrity and independence.

I shall, as in the preceding article on war issues, contrast the programmes of the Labor party and the Women's party. The Labor party has announced its intention of contesting every seat in the House of Commons. It declares that it expects to return 300 Labor members and to form a Labor government. The election policy of the Women's party will be against this programme and in support of Lloyd George. We shall work for the election of a House of Commons determined to continue the war until final victory, and in favor of a sound policy of social reconstruction after the war.

That Americans may know what would be in store for the Allies if the Labor party should obtain a majority, or even a fighting minority, in the House of Commons, I shall analyze that part of the famous Labor party programme relating to economic reform. The programme, published last December, has been hailed by the American radical press as a new Magna Charta. It is not new. It has not a single new idea or proposition in it. It is simply a reiteration of old-fashioned German Socialism, the basic principle of which is the "class war."

Class Rule Is Tyranny—No Matter Which Class

For the democratic representation of all classes in government, a thing we have been trying for many years to achieve, the Labor party proposes to substitute class domination by the manual workers. This, of course, would not mean that the manual workers would really rule. It would mean that by wire pulling and secret diplomacy a small band of self-seekers, not workers themselves, claiming to speak in the name of the working class, would control the situation.

This has proved to be the case in Russia. Was Lenin ever a manual worker? Was Trotsky? Did they ever give the working people of Russia an opportunity to rule, or even to express their will in an honest election? Yet in the name of the working people these traitors have plunged Russia into ruin and possible slavery.

Both before and after the revolution Russia tasted the bitterness of class rule. Before she suffered from one kind of autocracy, the irresponsible power of one man and his advisers. After, she suffered the still more terrible autocracy of Bolshevism, which is simply Czarism turned about.

That is the kind of autocracy a section of the British Labor party wants to

bring about in England. Their programme is first to take control of the House of Commons. Having seized the government, the programme proposes seizing everything else. This is clearly



Emmeline Pankhurst

what is meant by "progressive elimination of the private capitalist, individual or joint stock; national (working class) ownership of railroads, canals and ships; steadily increasing participation of control of industry by organized workers." The ultimate aim is exclusive class ownership of industry and production, as in Russia.

The programme declares against a protective tariff, even against Germany; against most taxation of the favored working class. Luxuries are to be taxed, possibly even when indulged in by manual workers. The principal means of revenue, however, for the Labor government to be are incomes, taxed sixteen to nineteen, and eventually twenty shillings in the pound, for millionaires. To raise funds to finance the government the Labor party, through its doctrinaires, would impose a special capital levy chargeable on all property, with exemption of smallest savings. Very little of this levy would be collected from the working people. The rich would bear it all.

Conscription of Wealth Works—Once

I read in one of the radical papers in this country that this economic programme was the most important document since the Ten Commandments. Well, the Ten Commandments may never have been literally observed, but its programme is workable. I do not think as much can be said of the British Labor party's economic programme. Having reduced the rich by a special capital levy and taxed what they had left six-



teen to nineteen shillings in the pound; having deprived capitalists of their industrial plants and other means of livelihood, how are they going to continue to raise revenues? Conscription of existing wealth works only once.

It is not by conscription of wealth that already exists, but by the production of more and more wealth through the utilization of national resources, the perfection of machinery, the elimination of waste and the proper organization of industry, that national prosperity, shared by all sections of the community, can be attained.

The British Bolsheviks demand control of industry by the workers; that is, control by elected committees of workers, as in Russia. The Women's party believes that committee control is the worst imaginable way of directing any practical enterprise. Control of industry by elected committees of workmen means muddle, delay, waste of time and energy.

Voters! Register This Week

By MARY GARRETT HAY
Chairman of New York City Woman Suffrage Party

THOUSANDS of women throughout the City of New York will be given the opportunity to register at the polls during the week of October 7, so that they may vote at the general elections in November.

Women voters who are conscientious and public-spirited, who are appreciative of their political privileges and who take a pride in the faithful performance of their civic duties, will need no urging to visit the registration booths.

Such women will manage so that neither business nor pleasure will prevent them from performing the simple duty of the registrant, and they will look forward to it with a thrill of interest because it is a preliminary step toward the casting of their first votes in the City of New York, an epoch-making event in the history of the woman movement in the Empire State.

There are women, however, whose opportunities for keeping in touch with current events and current interests are few, and these may feel that registration is a small matter and one of mere mechanical procedure. This is not the case. Registration is both a civic and a patriotic duty of a high order.

The man voter who takes no interest in candidates, in elections, in politics, is the citizen whose indifference and apathy have been responsible for much of the weakness and defects of our democratic government.

The woman also will be grievously wanting as a citizen who shirks her obligations to the state to which she is indebted for free education, protection of life and property and many other blessings. One way of making a direct payment on this debt is to give to the state through the ballot box the

benefit of her education, training, experience and ideals, through her vote supporting parties and candidates who will champion good principles and will further good interests.

The performance of this civic duty this year will have more than a local value. It will influence the woman question throughout the



country and perhaps throughout the world.

In every place where women are disfranchised the political example set by the women of the greatest American city will have a harmful or helpful effect.

friction and stagnation. The present mania (a device of the Germans) for so-called "democratic control" of industry is a great national and international danger. Unless it is stopped it will destroy all possibility of realizing for the masses a fair share of the leisure, comfort and refinement of life so far enjoyed only by the minority.

Captaincy of industry by those who have the special qualities and training which fit men for responsibility is what the Women's party demands. The opportunity of training for captaincy should be open to all who have capacity to profit by it.

Wealth Should Be Increased—Not Redistributed

The Women's party believes that poverty should be abolished, not increased. We see nothing to be gained by making

the rich poorer. We see everything to be gained by making the poor richer. Against the Labor party's programme of conscription of wealth we submit the proposition of greater production of wealth.

The primary causes of poverty are underproduction and faulty distribution of wealth. Let us take up the first cause, underproduction. From the report of a Parliamentary committee on coal conservation I quote the following:

"In the United Kingdom, in 1907, according to the Census of Production, page 19, the average output per worker was 102 pounds per annum, and since this sum has to provide not only the wages of the worker, but also establishment charges, including interest on capital, it is clear that the average wage must be something very much less, probably not more than half."

It must be plain that no mere redistribution of existing wealth can abolish poverty. As long as the average output per worker per annum is 102 pounds, no possible redistribution could lead to the abolition of poverty among coal miners. There is not, under present conditions of wealth production, enough wealth to make the mass of the people rich instead of poor. Increase money wages as much as you like, the extra money cannot buy wealth that has not been produced.

The Labor politicians are little concerned with the possibilities of increasing wealth production, although to all thoughtful people it is evident that nothing else can ever relieve the mass of the population from the burden of poverty. The Labor politicians are content with the present scale of production because they are counting upon dispossessing those individuals who hitherto have had the largest personal share of the inadequate total wealth produced. They want a similar privileged position for an aristocracy of labor. The people as a whole would not benefit; the masses would be as poor as they were before, if not poorer.

No Let Down in Industry After the War

Great Britain must produce more of everything. She can do it. The 102 pounds per worker per annum does not represent the potential producing power of able-bodied men and women, rationally educated, industrially trained and capably captained. The great cry of the Labor party is for a "return to pre-war trade union conditions and workshop practices." This is precisely what the Women's party opposes. We never want to go back to pre-war conditions of industry, dingy factories, seasonal unemployment, sweated trades, uncertain hours, low wages, monopoly by men of most good jobs, restriction of output as a trade union policy. We hope that all these pre-war conditions are gone forever.

We hope that all industry will be put on the high plane of efficiency now maintained in our war industries. Munition factories are light, well warmed and ventilated, sanitary in every respect. The health and spirits of the workers are scientifically conserved. Educated and sympathetic women superintendents direct the work of girls and women. Doctors and nurses are part of the staff. Canteens furnish good and nourishing food at low cost. Many establishments

Her Pride in Her Work Will Mean the End of Snobbery

have crèches and day nurseries for the babies of working mothers. Hours of work are not too long, wages are good, and the maximum of production is insured without detriment to any worker. These are the conditions of industry the Women's party wants to retain and to extend.

The worst of all pre-war trade union sins was restricted production, which robbed everybody, but it robbed the poor most of all. This policy of the trade unions was based on false teachings of pre-war economists. Unrestricted production, they asserted, involved something grim called "overproduction," which meant unemployment for many. But this danger is averted if increased production is accompanied by increased consumption, by a raising of the standard of living throughout the community.

Every One a Laborer In War Time

I am sure you must have heard how the British women munition workers, prosperous for the first time in their lives, bought fur coats and pianos; how people reproached those women munition workers because they did not put all their surplus wages into war bonds. But I think they shine by comparison with a certain type of man who buys neither luxuries nor war bonds, but who, when he reaches a point where he has enough to live on for the rest of the week, stops work or decreases his output.

The paid employment of women, the pre-war nightmare of the reactionary trade unionists and other fossilized elements, is in reality an economic boon to the community. The paid work of women increases the common stock of wealth and the prosperity of the nation. The purchasing power of the women workers provides employment for others, it adds to the consumption of commodities and calls for more production.

The underlying motive of the demand for committee control of industry is a vague idea that it will result in raising the social status of manual workers. Social inferiority has been associated with work, it is true; but this inferiority is doomed to disappear, and it is the women of the so-called "upper classes" who have sealed its doom. It is these women, Great Britain, who have proudly turned their hands to all kinds of manual work, thus proclaiming their conviction of the dignity and sanctity of toil. The Women's party, in pre-war days known as the Women's Social and Political Union, had already brushed aside in practical fashion all class distinctions based on social origin or the performance of manual work. We contemplate for the future a state of affairs in which all men and women will be called upon to do a certain portion of the manual work of the world, this contribution to industrial service carrying with it no suggestion of social inferiority. In that day the class war will become an impossible figment of the imagination.

Bonds for the Other Hundred Million

By ELEN FOSTER

IT WAS Mrs. McAdoo, chairman of the National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee, who suggested the woman's slogan for the present campaign, "Get the Other Hundred Million." Twenty million of the people of this country—half of whom, by the way, are women—have already invested in the first, second and third issues of Liberty bonds, but there still remain 100,000,000 benighted souls who must be shown the error of their ways and induced to invest their savings in the fourth issue of these bonds.

Six billion dollars is a lot of money, but, divided among 100,000,000 people, it would mean only an average of \$60 per person; and with an army of 700,000 volunteers—the woman's battalion of "The Fighting Fourth" in the field—well, we shall see what we shall see!

The Ladies and The Loan

The part which the women of the

country have played in the selling of Liberty bonds has grown in an amazing degree with each successive loan, and, incidentally, the attitude of the men of the community toward these women bond sellers has changed accordingly.

At the time of the first Liberty Loan, which came, you will remember, only a month after our declaration of war, the women had not awakened to the gravity of the situation. It was even difficult for them to realize that we were really at war, and, therefore, the part which they played in the first campaign was comparatively small.

But by the time the second loan was launched the selective draft had sent thousands of our men into the training camps, and the women at home were thoroughly awakened and anxious to help. It was then that the woman's committee, which served through the second and third loans, and is again at the fore for the "Fighting Fourth," was organized.

The work of this committee has gained the respect and admiration of the men, so

that more and more responsibility is placed on the women with each succeeding loan. A very significant proof of the regard which the national committee has for the ability of women to sell bonds is the fact that the entire Hog Island district has been given to the Philadelphia woman's committee as a field for their activities. This concession is something in the nature of a "reward of merit," for the women of Philadelphia won the banner in the third campaign, with \$53,000,000 in bonds to their credit.

Do you realize what an education this bond selling has been to the women of the country? Meek little, mouse-like creatures, who knew nothing of finance save that the local savings bank gave them 4 cents per annum for every dollar which they placed in its vaults, women who were not even accustomed to filling out a check, now stand on street corners and explain to the passing throng why a Liberty bond is the safest investment in the world.

What a Woman Will Do To Sell a Bond

It is the patience and conscientiousness of the women workers that have won the admiration of the men of the Liberty Loan Committee.

"Once they put their shoulders to the wheel they keep on pushing," one of these men said the other day. "And nothing is too difficult for them to undertake. I truly believe that if I told one of those women that by climbing the steeple of Trinity Church she could sell a bond to the man who is repairing the weather vane, she would not only go to it, but she would be up to the second story before I had finished speaking."

"And there's another thing about them," he continued. "They will work just as hard to sell a \$50 bond as they would to sell \$1,000. That is the reason that their sales count up. A man wouldn't consider it worth his while to travel several hours to reach an isolated little hamlet composed of perhaps a dozen families of very moderate means; but I know a woman who went by train to the town nearest such a settlement, hired a farmer to drive her to the place, and sold a \$50 bond to every last man and woman in the village. One thousand one hundred and

fifty dollars was the total of her day's sales. A man wouldn't have had the patience to do that job, but he would have

spent more than the same amount of time following up a possible purchaser of a \$1,000 bond."



Painted by Arthur L. Hazard, of Boston, for the New England Woman's Liberty Loan Committee

It is just this kind of "stick-to-it-iveness" that is going to bring in a goodly share of that 100,000,000 bond slackers. That the women are beginning to "feel their oats," so to speak, and appreciate what it is possible for them to accomplish is shown by the way the various organizations have raised their goal from one campaign to another.

Take the Stage Women's War Relief, for example. Their goal for the second loan was \$500,000, and they sold \$600,000 in bonds. They raised the goal to \$1,000,000 for the third loan, and the result was over \$2,000,000 in subscriptions.

"The Fighting Fourth" sees them back with \$3,000,000 as their mecca, and unless Ray Cox loses her voice and her enthusiasm we can safely predict that they will attain it.

Everybody's in It—Let's Join!

The various women's war relief associations have each a Liberty Loan committee working for this campaign as

they have never worked before; the business women are organized for service, and their results thus far have been extremely gratifying; the Woman Suffrage party is untiring in its efforts to reach every person in the community by means of its house-to-house canvass; but this by no means completes the list of the women who are working for the fourth Liberty Loan.

Scattered throughout the country are women plodding along without the inspiration or assistance of any organization, each doing her best to reach her share of the 100,000,000 people. The small town woman, the farmers' wives, the women who live on ranches or in mining camps in the Far West, the negro women of the South, are all pulling together under the direction of the National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee; and every one of us can help them either by buying a bond for ourselves or by being the means of selling one to some one else.

Every previous loan has been oversubscribed; don't let's allow the "Fighting Fourth" to be an exception to this rule.

We Who Are Your Women

By THEODOSIA GARRISON

WE WHO are your women, when have we failed you?
We who stood beside you when dread or doubt assailed you
In the old days of living ere the war—call hailed you?

We who are your women, we handed you the sword,
We bade you forth to battle in the Service of the Lord,
We promised faith and aid and strength to be your sure reward.

We who are your women, now that you are gone,
Shall we sit with idle hands, thinking, every one,
That her task has been fulfilled, that her work is done?

We who are your women, when have we failed you?
In the old days of living ere the war—call hailed you?
As we gave the promise so we keep the vow—
We who are your women, we will not fail you now.

We who are your women, you call us overseas
For shelter, care and comfort—yet sterner things than these,
All that makes for might and strength against our enemies.

We who are your women, by all that makes our pride,
By love, by hope, by courage, by tears our hearts denied,
Pledge these sendings to you through service multiplied.

We who are your women, be sure we see aright
The single duty left for us who sped you to the fight;
We who gave the sword to you—no must keep it bright!